

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00

SAJ-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00

NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 TRSE-00 /053 W

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O R 071521Z DEC 76

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3911

INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

USMISSION USBERLIN

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

AMCONSUL BREMEN

AMCONSUL DUSSELDORF

AMCONSUL FRANKFURT

AMCONSUL HAMBURG

AMCONSUL MUNICH

AMCONSUL STUTTGART

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 20580

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, GW

SUBJECT: NEGOTIATIONS FAIL -- CDU AND CSU SPLIT UP

REFS: A. BONN 20093 (NOTAL); B. BONN 19976 (NOTAL);

C. BONN 19673 (NOTAL)

BEGIN SUMMARY: AFTER THREE MEETINGS, THE FINAL SESSION

LASTING OVER SIX HOURS, CDU CHAIRMAN HELMUT KOHL AND

CSU CHAIRMAN FRANZ JOSEF STRAUSS AGREED TO DISAGREE.

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WHILE THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE MENTIONED COMMON GOALS, IN

REALITY THE DECLARATION WAS THE DIVORCE DECREE ENDING A 27-YEAR POLITICAL ALLIANCE. THE CDU HELD FAST TO THE DEMAND THAT THE CSU REVERSE THE NOV. 19 DECISION TO FORM A SEPARATE FRAKTION IN THE 8TH BUNDESTAG. TO DO SO WOULD HAVE REQUIRED A TREMENDOUS LOSS OF FACE ON THE PART OF STRAUSS AND A RETREAT FROM HIS STRATEGY WHICH HE BELIEVES WILL LEAD TO AN EVENTUAL CONSERVATIVE VICTORY. IT IS EXPECTED THAT THE CDU WILL NOW MOVE INTO BAVARIA, AT FIRST PERMITTING POLITICAL GROUPS FRIENDLY TO THE CDU TO SPRING UP AND LATER (FOLLOWING THE MARCH CDU NATIONAL CONVENTION) FORMING A FULL-BLOWN BAVARIAN CDUWBYANIZATION. IT IS ALSO EXPECTED THAT THE CSU HL EVENTUALLY GO NATIONWIDE. THE LONG-TERM IMPLICATIONS OF THE SPLIT IN THE UNION PARTIES' ALLIANCE REMAIN UNCLEAR, BUT MANY OBSERVERS FEEL IT COULD LEAD TO THE CREATION OF SPLINTER-PARTIES.

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END SUMMARY.

1. AFTER A MEETING ON ST. NICHOLAS DAY, LASTING OVER SIX HOURS, THE CDU AND CSU LEADERSHIP WERE UNABLE TO REACH A COMPROMISE. THE CSU IS GOING AHEAD WITH ITS PLANS TO FORM A SEPARATE FRAKTION IN THE 8TH BUNDESTAG WHICH CONVENES ON DECEMBER 14. ALTHOUGH THE JOINT KOHL-STRAUSS DECLARATION MADE SOME MENTION OF COMMON GOALS, THE FACT IS THAT NEITHER SIDE BACKED AWAY FROM ITS ORIGINAL POSITION.

2. FOR FRANZ JOSEF STRAUSS TO RETREAT FROM THE NOVEMBER 19 DECISION AT WILDBAD KREUTH TO FORM A SEPARATE CSU FRAKTION IN THE BUNDESTAG COULD HAVE COST HIM HIS POSITION AS CHAIRMAN OF THE CSU. ALTHOUGH OPPOSITION IN THE CSU TO THE DECISION WAS GREATER THAN STRAUSS HAD EXPECTED, TO RETREAT FROM HIS STRATEGY WOULD HAVE BEEN DISASTROUS FOR HIS LEADERSHIP POSITION.

3. HELMUT KOHL FOR HIS PART WAS ALSO LOCKED INTO HIS POSITION. OVER AND OVER AGAIN HE HAD GIVEN IN TO

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STRAUSS, BOTH BEFORE HIS NOMINATION AS CDU/CSU CHANCELLOR CANDIDATE AND DURING THE CAMPAIGN. NEVERTHELESS, STRAUSS WENT AHEAD AND BROUGHT OFF THE COUP OF WILDBAD KREUTH. HE THEN POURED SALT IN KOHL'S WOUNDS AFTERWARDS IN A SPEECH TO THE JUNGE UNION IN MUNICH. THE SPEECH, WHICH APPEARED IN STRAUSS' BETE NOIRE, SPIEGEL, WAS PERSONALLY INSULTING AND DEGRADING TO KOHL. KOHL AND THE CDU EXECUTIVE

BOARD HAD GIVEN THE CSU THE ULTIMATUM THAT THE CSU WOULD HAVE TO REVERSE THE NOV. 19 DECISION AND FORESWEAR ANY NATIONAL 4TH PARTY AMBITIONS OR THE CDU WOULD MOVE INTO BAVARIA. KOHL ALSO COULD NOT RETREAT FROM HIS POSITION. IF HE DID SO, HIS POSITION AS LEADER OF THE CDU WOULD BE THREATENED.

4. IN THE DEC. 6 COMMUNIQUE WHICH BRIEFLY SPELLS OUT THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TWO PARTIES ON THE QUESTION OF A JOINT FRAKTION, THERE IS A STRONG INDICATION THAT THE CDU PLANS TO MOVE INTO BAVARIA. IF THEY DO SO, IT IS PROBABLY JUST A MATTER OF TIME UNTIL THE CSU GOES

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 BONN 20580

NATIONWIDE. STRAUSS MIGHT DO THIS BY PERMITTING A RIGHT-WING GERMAN NATIONALIST PARTY UNDER ANOTHER NAME TO BE FORMED AROUND THE COUNTRY RATHER THAN SETTING UP A CSU IN EVERY LAND.

5. THE TWO FRAKTIONS ARE MEETING TODAY TO ELECT OFFICERS. ONCE THIS IS DONE, THERE IS NO POSSIBILITY OF TURNING BACK. ON DECEMBER 13, THE GOVERNING BODY
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OF THE CDU WILL CONVENE IN BONN AND IS EXPECTED TO ENDORSE THE POSITION TAKEN BY KOHL AND HIS COLLEAGUES ON DECEMBER 6. A FORMAL DECISION TO ESTABLISH A CDU LAND ORGANIZATION IN BAVARIA CANNOT BE TAKEN UNTIL THE MARCH CDU NATIONAL "PARTEITAG" BUT LOCAL POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS IN BAVARIA FRIENDLY TO THE CDU COULD BE ESTABLISHED IN THE MEANTIME.

6. UNDER THE RULES OF THE BUNDESTAG, ONCE TWO PARTIES COMPETE WITH EACH OTHER IN AN ELECTION, THEY CANNOT BECOME A FRAKTION IN THE BUNDESTAG, EVEN IF THEY SHARE COMMON POLITICAL GOALS, WITHOUT THE CONSENT OF THE MAJORITY OF THE BUNDESTAG. THEREFORE, IF THE CDU MOVES INTO BAVARIA OR THE CSU CAMPAIGNS IN ANOTHER LAND AGAINST THE CDU, IT WILL REQUIRE MAJORITY APPROVAL OF THE BUNDESTAG ONCE AGAIN TO FORM A JOINT CDU/CSU FRAKTION.

7. LONGER-TERM IMPLICATIONS OF THE SPLIT REMAIN UNCLEAR. SERIOUS OBSERVERS AND POLITICIANS ARE CONCERNED THAT THE CSU ACTION WILL LEAD TO FURTHER SPLINTERING OF THE GERMAN POLITICAL PARTY SYSTEM. OVER THE WEEKEND, FIFTY DISAFFECTED SPD MEMBERS MET SECRETLY IN THE TOWN OF KETTWIG. THE GROUP, LED BY HANS-GUENTER WEBER, ONE OF THE FOUNDERS OF FRITZ-ERLER GESELLSCHAFT, FORMED A NEW PARTY CALLED THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC UNION (SDU). FRANZ JOSEF STRAUSS WELCOMED THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SDU, BUT IT IS DOUBTFUL THAT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THIS GROUP IS OF VERY GREAT POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE.

8. WILLY BRANDT, IN A RECENT CONVERSATION WITH THE AMBASSADOR, MENTIONED THE POSSIBILITY OF A NEW LEFT-WING SPLINTER GROUP. THIS WOULD BE MORE SERIOUS FOR

THE SPD. HOWEVER, YOUNG LEFT-WINGERS IN THE
BUNDESTAG ARE QUICK TO DISCLAIM ANY INTEREST IN BOLTING
HE SPD AND CERTAINLY AT THIS TIME IT WOULD SEEM TO
MAKE LITTLE POLITICAL SENSE FOR THEM TO DO SO. OVER
THE LONGER RUN, HOWEVER, THE CENTRIFUGAL FORCES
CREATED BY THE STRAUSS ACTION ARE UNPREDICTABLE.
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